I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Present day
clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots.

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available.

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

## 5

## Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used.

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Hinatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

859 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

## CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

312
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*Women washing at water tank.*

*Women transplanting rice.*

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*Woman transplanting.*

*Carrying wood.*

[482]

[p 456-B]

857
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*Children catching small fish.*

*Girls washing their laundry.*

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[415]
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[482]
→
[312]

*Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.*

[243]
→

*Boy harvesting.*

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practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. 863 [514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 5 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

863 515 [854] [296]

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ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old, "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
● 296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

## IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts, "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

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857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it
[861] is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it, she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, without too much difficulty."
[855] Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
● 296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
151 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[325] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
[758] mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
• [296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[514] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be allowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.